

Much clearer insight into the composition and functions of the band comes from Viedma. Each cacique or headman had "a determined territory under his jurisdiction, no Indian of his group can enter the territory of another headman without seeking the permission of the latter." Trespass without such permission was one of the chief causes of war. An Indian of one band wishing to pass through or tarry in the territory of another band, had to make three smoke signals and await the answering signals before entering such territory. If consent was not given by the cacique, he was commanded to depart forthwith. Trespass without such formality was interpreted as evidence of bad faith, and resort was had to arms (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 73). 621
423
[202]

Some idea of the size of band territories is given by Viedma. On the Atlantic coast between Puerto de Santa Elena in 40° S. latitude and Cabo Virgenes at the eastern end of the Strait of Magellan near 52° S. latitude, in all a distance as the crow flies of about 850 miles, there were in 1780-83, according to Viedma (1837 b, pp. 65-66), six bands with their respective headmen. The territory of the northernmost of these extended from Puerto de Santa Elena to Puerto de San Gregorio in 45°4' S. latitude, about 350 miles north to south; the other five averaged about 100 miles of coast each. How far these territories extended inland Viedma does not explicitly state, but presumably well back toward, or perhaps even to, the foothills of the Andes.

The following passage, highly significant for the unique insight it gives into band composition and family land tenure, needs to be quoted in its entirety.

The cacique is under obligation to protect and aid the Indians of his jurisdiction and territory in their necessities. In this respect he is the more esteemed, has a greater following among them, and is preferred as a cacique, who is more ready to aid them, more liberal, and more intelligent in the chase. For if he lacks these qualifications, they go off and seek another cacique who does possess them, leaving him [their previous headman] alone with his relatives, and exposed to continual invasions from neighbors: although that family does not thereby lose its right to the [its] territory [Italics ours], and in the course of time there will ordinarily be some other person who will reestablish the *tolderia* which his father, grandfather, or brother has lost through misfortune or misconduct. When the cacique grows old and for lack of vigor cannot fulfill the obligations of his office, he relinquishes the command to his successor. [Viedma, 1837 b, p. 74.] 622 ●
423

A *tolderia* may be composed of four, five, or more families, each family consisting of a man, his wife and children, and his relatives; this man, who is head or chief of the family, is a sort of subaltern cacique, a subaltern of the cacique who has general charge of everyone and who has right of ownership of the territory (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 76). 621
376

621 The foregoing citations speak for themselves. Attention may merely be called in passing to three points, particularly in the passages from Viedma—the fluidity of band membership, the kinship nucleus of the band, and the system of family hunting grounds very similar to that prevalent among the linguistically related *Chon*-speaking peoples, the *Ona*. (Cf. also on this third point, Krickeberg, 1934, pp. 331-332).

622 The headman's chief function in peacetime, in addition to the functions mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, was to harangue the band each morning and voice the day's agenda as regarded hunting and traveling. (For a text example of such a hunting exhortation, see Hunziker, 1928 a.) He had practically no authority to issue orders; nobody would have obeyed him. Nor did he act as authoritative judge in disputes. The average *Tehuelche's* attitude appears to have been that of Musters' Indian, Cuastro, who with his dying breath shouted out: "I die as I have lived—no cacique orders me" (Musters, 1871, pp. 80-81, 184). The headmanship was usually, but not always, hereditary, from father to son.

627
578 Disputes.—There was no set judicial procedure. Conflicts between men of the band were commonly settled by fist fights, or else with the bolas, the disputants in the latter case being corseleted and helmeted; between women, by tongue lashings, hair pulling, and clubbing (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 81); Muñiz, 1917, pp. 212-213); often before an interested gathering of their fellow tribesmen and tribeswomen, who abstained from interfering and greatly enjoyed the spectacle, so Viedma (1837 b, p. 81) informs us.

721 Bloody feuds between bands, occasioned by trespass, horse or woman stealing, or other causes, were common. The *Tehuelche* were far from being pacifists, but rather the contrary. The various bands would sometimes unite, in loose temporary or more lasting confederations, against common enemies—the Argentine *Araucanians*, the *Puelche*, or the Whites. The leaders had considerable influence, depending, it would seem, a great deal upon their abilities and personalities.

WARFARE

411 The chief fighting weapons of the later *Tehuelche* (on the warlike pursuits, and for that matter on the whole political culture of the early *Tehuelche*, we have practically no information) were the long lance and the bolas, especially the bola perdida, to which were added, when obtainable, metal swords and knives of Spanish provenance, and guns and pistols. D'Orbigny (1835-47, 2:117) mentions a "dard" [javelin for hunting?], and Sánchez Labrador (1936, p. 45) states that when an enemy could not be reached with the lance as held it was sometimes thrown at him. Heavy coats of multiple hide and

Poya

- 278 Lista, 1879 b, p. 76; Boncagli, 1884, p. 776; Spegazzini, 1884, p. 237.) Bloodletting was commonly resorted to. The resin of *Schinus Mucosum dependens* was chewed for health purposes (Muñiz, 1917, p. 214; cf. Pineda, 1914, p. 9). Guanaco bezoars were utilized for medicinal purposes (Musters, 1871, p. 126; King, 1839, 1:117, for bowel complaints). Like the *Puelche* and the *Araucanians*, the *Tehuelche* had numbers for "100" and "1,000" taken from *Quechua*.
- [802
177]

POYA CULTURE

- 114 Most of our extremely fragmentary data on *Poya* culture are derived from Diego Florez de León (1898), Gerónimo Pietas (1846), Miguel de Olivares (1874), Gómez de Vidaurre (1889), and Menendez (in Fonck, 1900). The main passages from the first four are reproduced in full and their anthropological content critically discussed and interpreted by Vignati (1939 a; cf. also Latchman, 1929-30, 64: 220-222).

- [262] Subsistence activities.—Food consisted of animals, birds, and certain roots from which a flour was made; later, beef. The two earlier sources, Florez de León and Pietas, made no mention of agriculture; Olivares (1874, p. 511) stated that the *Poya* had "a little grain" [cultivated by them?]; Menendez (in Fonck, 1900, p. 319), that the "*Puelche*" [probably *Poya*] of Lake Nahuel-huapi in 1792 had some quinoa, wheat, and barley, that they did not cultivate the ground, but that they used to throw seeds on the ground along streams and what came up was gathered by the first who came along.

- 415 Skin bags served as water containers. An alcoholic beverage was made of wild fruits.

- 273 Hunting and fighting weapons were the bow and arrow and bolas.

- 411 Dogs were used in hunting. Horses and cattle were early introduced.

- 231 Shelters.—Tents were of skins.

- 342 Clothing and ornaments.—Clothing was made of guanaco, fox, and ostrich skins, and included a large mantle and a smaller pubic covering. One Indian, from inland, met by Florez de León, "had his nose pierced like the people of Perú" (1898, p. 256)—no doubt, with his septum pierced.

- 291 Transportation.—Inflated guanaco skins were used in crossing rivers on horseback.

- 492 Social and political life.—Not only polygyny, but also polyandry was permitted (Olivares, 1874, p. 511; Vidaurre, 1889, p. 301); when one husband went away hunting, the other took his place. According to Olivares (1874, p. 512), sodomy was practiced; so, too, father-daughter incest (*ibid.*), though not approved by public opinion. Each band had its own headman, with persuasive rather than mandatory powers.
- 595
839
835
622

CHAPTER II.

SANTA CRUZ.

Introduction to Chiefs—Orkeke—Chilian Deserters—The Settlement—
Island of Pabon—Natural Advantages—The Mission Station—Mr.
Clarke—Our Circle at Pabon—Expedition to Lake Viedma—Winter
Occupations—Work and Play—Casimiro's Adventures—His character
—A Winter Hunting Excursion—A Pampa Snow-storm—The Santa
Cruz Valley—Up the River—The Northern Hills—Pumas—Devil's
Eye—Hunting on Foot—Intense Cold—Return of the Deserters—
Visit to the Indian Camp—First Night in a Toldo—Towing a Horse
—Adieu to Santa Cruz.

OUR first business next day was to despatch a messenger ^{ooo} to board the schooner, if she should prove to be still in the mouth of the river. My Chilian friends had found some of the deserters, who had been taken into employment, and subsequently detained as close prisoners by the major-domo, at the instance of a sergeant sent round from Punta Arena in the schooner, to solicit Don Luiz's assistance in their capture. About noon Casimiro, *soi-disant* chief of the Tehuelches, 622 ● and father of Sam Slick, rode in from a hunting excursion, mounted on a tall, shapely horse, and carrying a guanaco on his saddle. I was formally introduced, and my plans and purpose fully explained to him; and soon after Orkeke, the cacique of the party of Northern Tehuelches, encamped on the Rio Chico, arrived. His consent was necessary to enable me to accompany them in their journey, and by means of Casimiro as an interpreter, as the chief spoke but little Spanish, my request was preferred. He confirmed the state-

- 622ment of Mr. Clarke, that his people intended to winter in
their present encampment, and then proceed northwards;
but did not seem at all disposed to welcome the addition of
an Englishman to his party, urging the difficult nature of the
road, length of time, chances of fights, &c., &c. However,
I hoped that during the enforced delay opportunities would
arise of improving our acquaintance, and obtaining his con-
sent. I was much struck with the grave and dignified bear-
622ing of the old chief. Standing fully six feet, and with a
142 well-proportioned muscular frame, no one would have guessed
147 him to have passed his sixtieth year; and whether vaulting on
a bare-backed steed, or leading the chase, he displayed an
agility and endurance equal to that of any of the younger
men: his thick black hair was slightly streaked with grey;
and the bright intelligent eyes, aquiline nose, and thin firm
lips were very unlike the popular idea of Patagenian features;
a retreating forehead rather marred the expression of his
622face, which was, however, grave and thoughtful, and at times
153 strikingly intellectual. Months passed in his company gave
me afterwards ample opportunity of studying his powers of
reflection, which were great, and often found expression in
622pithy and amusing sayings. Although particularly neat in
515 his dress, and cleanly in his habits, he was troubled, like all
the Indians, with vermin; and one night he roused me up to
have a smoke, and after sitting for some time, apparently
lost in deep thought, he remarked, 'Musters, lice never
622sleep!' He would sometimes, but rarely, indulge in intoxi-
[273]cation, but never quarrelled, and it was an understood thing
that either he or his brother Tankelow should on occasions
of a general drinking bout remain sober to protect their
[23]families. He was himself childless, and had adopted a little
terrier named Ako, which enjoyed the place and honours of
[604]an only child; but he displayed great affection towards his
nephews and nieces, some one or other of whom might often
be seen in his arms on a march, or after the return from the
chase. During our first acquaintance I was most pleased

when, as often happened, he joined our little circle, and in the company of his old friend Mr. Clarke, unbent from his gravity and laughed and talked in a way that seemed quite foreign to the usually serious chief. It must be confessed that he was jealous and suspicious, and a little stingy, preferring to increase rather than lessen his large stock of horses, gear, and arms; but from the time I became his guest his conduct to myself was irreproachable.

In the evening the messenger returned; he had of course completely mistaken his instructions, and informed Don Luiz that the Englishman desired to proceed in the schooner to Buenos Ayres, and accordingly a boat arrived with the morning flood-tide to take me off. Mr. Clarke good-naturedly undertook to go himself and explain matters; and returned with a kind message, offering me quarters and every hospitality if I chose to remain in the settlement for the next two months, at the end of which period the schooner might be expected to return. Lieut. Gallegos strongly urged me to accompany him back to Punta Arena, painting in strong colours the tedium and discomfort of a winter at Santa Cruz. But it was plain that the opportunity of cultivating the acquaintance and securing the confidence of Orkeke would thus be thrown away, and with it the prospect of traversing the country. Gallegos believed that this plan was fraught with danger, and indeed almost certain destruction; but as I was immovable, we took an affectionate farewell of each other. He and all his party had treated me, an utter stranger, with the greatest kindness, and I bade adieu to them as true comrades. They departed on their return journey, taking with them the four prisoners, who, however, are destined to appear again in these pages. These men had undergone much hardship to obtain the liberty of which they seemed again deprived; three of them had managed to secure a horse, and walking and riding in turns had found their way to the Indians. Two of them, Olate and Rosa, the latter, though a mere boy, with thoroughly evil and murderous conn-

a huge puma couched by the extinct ashes of the fire. Just, ⁰⁰⁰ however, as Arica was about to fire the revolver which I had lent him, the beast bounded away into the bushes. But as he was convinced that the puma was close at hand waiting for an opportunity to attack, he spent several hours on the watch with his revolver ready. His delight may be imagined when, worn out with want of food and rest, he was relieved by the arrival of the Indian with the meat and a horse for him to ride.

The next day we made a short march up the river valley, ⁴⁸⁴ the caravan of women and horses, as usual, proceeding along the track, while the men hunted in the adjacent plains. I was fortunate enough in the hunt to kill a guanaco and an ostrich, and duly shared them with Casimiro. The order of ⁶²² march and method of hunting which constitute the daily ⁴⁸⁴ routine are as follows: the Cacique, who has the ordering of ²²⁴ the marching and hunting, comes out of his toldo at daylight, sometimes indeed before, and delivers a loud oration, describing the order of march, the appointed place of hunting, and the general programme; he then exhorts the young men to catch and bring up the horses, and be alert and active in the hunt, enforcing his admonition, by way of a wind up, with a boastful relation of his own deeds of prowess when he was young. Sometimes the women, while the chief is haranguing, rekindle or blow up the embers of the ^[264] fire and prepare a slight breakfast, but not invariably. Some cold meat is also occasionally reserved from the evening meal, and placed in a hide bag to be carried with them on the march, to be given to the children when they are hungry. But the general custom for the men is to wait until the day's hunt has supplied fresh meat. When the Cacique's 'oration' ⁴⁸⁴ —which is very little attended to—is over, the young men ⁴⁹² and boys lazo and bring up the horses, and the women place ⁸⁵⁴ on their backs the bolster of reeds, tied with hide thongs, mantles, and coloured blankets, which form their saddles; others are strapping their belts on, or putting their babies

[264] each, and reserved as tid-bits for the women and children.

252 When the head and breast half are to be cooked, the bone is not extracted, but the wings turned inside and the breast cavity filled with heated stones, and tied up with half of the skin of the legs, which have been divided, additional pieces of meat from the legs having been placed in the breast cavity.

264 The fat of the breast is divided amongst the party at the fireside, the owner in all cases reserving none or a very small piece for himself, as the others who are cooking at the

• [622] same fire are sure to give him plenty. The cacique generally receives the largest share, or if he is not present, the greatest friends of the owner. The wing feathers are care-

[439] fully taken to the toldos and stored with others for future trade. The ostrich is most thoroughly eaten; the gizzard,

262 which is large enough to fill both hands, being carefully cooked by the insertion of a hot stone and roasted; the eyes, too, are sucked, and the tripe devoured; but when the birds are thin they are simply skinned, and the carcass left to the pumas. After the meal, concluding the hunt, is finished, a pipe is handed round, saddles are re-adjusted, and the game placed on them, and the party adjourn to the toldos, which by this time have been pitched and arranged by the women.

Guanaco are not much killed, unless a long stay in a place is intended, or an Indian feels inclined for blood, or ostriches, which are always eaten in preference, are scarce. The meat

252 of the guanaco is, however, excellent; the haunches are generally what is termed in Spanish 'charqueared,' which means that the meat is cut off in thin slices, and after a little salt has been sprinkled over it, is dried in the sun. When thoroughly dried it is roasted in the ashes, pounded between two stones, and mixed with ostrich or other grease; this preparation, like pemmican, is very useful for a man going a long journey, as it can be carried in a small compass, and a mere handful satisfies the appetite.

000 It would be tedious to describe every day's march, and the

576 Both parties, fully armed, dressed in their best, and mounted on their best horses, formed into opposite lines.

The Northern Indians presented the gayest appearance, displaying flannel shirts, ponchos, and a great show of silver spurs and ornamental bridles. The chiefs then rode up and
 [537] down, dressing the ranks and haranguing their men, who kept up a continual shouting of 'Wap, Wap, Wap.' I fell in as a private, though Casimiro had vainly endeavoured to induce me to act as 'Capitanejo' or officer of a party. The Buenos Ayrean colours were proudly displayed on our side, while the Northerns carried a white west, their ranks presenting a much better drilled aspect than our ill-disciplined forces. Messengers or hostages were then exchanged, each side deputing a son or brother of the chief for that purpose; and the new comers advanced, formed into columns of threes, and rode round our ranks, firing their guns and revolvers, shouting and brandishing their swords and bolas. After galloping round at full speed two or three times, they opened ranks, and charged out as if attacking an enemy, shouting 'Kone' at every blow or thrust. The object of attack was supposed to be the 'Gualichu' or demon, and certainly the demon of discord had need to be exorcised. Hinchel's party then halted and reformed their line, while we, in our turn, executed the same manœuvres. Afterwards the caciques advanced and formally shook hands, making,
 [537] each in turn, long and complimentary speeches. This was repeated several times, the etiquette being to answer only 'Ahon,' or Yes, until the third repetition, when all begin to talk, and formality is gradually laid aside. It was rather a surprise to find etiquette so rigorously insisted on, but these so-called savages are as punctilious in observing the proper forms as if they were Spanish courtiers.

621 These northern Tehuelches, under the command of Hinchel,
 221 usually frequent the country lying between the Rio Negro
 439 and the River Sengel, and once a year, about July, visit the
 622 settlement of Patagones, where their stay is generally short,

- 621 only sufficient for them to barter their furs and feathers, and
221 for the chiefs at the same time to receive their rations of
439 mares, cattle, ponchos, yerba, tobacco, &c., allowed by the
622 Government of Buenos Ayres. By the time we met them in
November they had little to show of the gains of their
August visit to Rio Negro except a few mares and gay-
coloured ponchos. Hinchel, however, owned two or three
231 head of cattle which were said to have been caught at the
head of the Chupat valley, being supposed to be stray cattle
belonging to the Welsh settlers. Some of the Indians had still
291 also a little yerba left, and tobacco in plenty; and on the occa-
sion of the welcome many were dressed in coloured ponchos,
411 chiripas, and some in leathern boots. With arms they were
passably well provided, guns and revolvers being in propor-
tion of about one to four men. During the time that we
574 were occupied in the ceremony the women of the newly-
arrived party busied themselves in pitching their toldos; and
shortly after we had returned to our camp, which was a
little apart from that of the new comers, and appeared very
small and insignificant when contrasted with theirs, the
[43] cacique came over, and presented mares, horses, and other
gifts to the chiefs of our party; and a grand feast was
celebrated in our toldos. Many of the new comers rode
over, two or sometimes three mounted on one horse, and
would, if not acquainted with the inmates, stop in front of a
toldo and look in for a few minutes, then ride on to another,
and so on. As these were mostly young men, their real
object was probably to reconnoitre the young ladies. One,
727 however, who, though undistinguishable from the Indians in
appearance, and who looked like an Araucano, but was
really by birth a Spaniard, having been carried off in his
childhood from a settlement, brought over a pack of cards,
525 and some of our party were soon deep in a game of siete, at
which the stranger being a proficient, soon cleared them out
completely.
- 622 Next day I paid a visit to Hinchel. He spoke no Spanish,

- T 116 but he managed to converse, and he asked me if the Southern
 622 Tehuelches were not a queer lot, for he had heard that they
 killed men as readily as they would guanaco. From what
 casimiro had reported, I was already inclined to respect this
 cacique, who had expressed such readiness to protect or
 avenge a guest of the Indians, and closer acquaintance only
 strengthened my regard for him. He was a fine-looking
 man, with a pleasant, intelligent countenance, which was not
 belied by his disposition. He never, to my knowledge, ex-
 ceeded sobriety, and was good-humoured and self-possessed ;
 though if once roused to fight, his resolute and determined
 courage was well known. He was skilled at all sorts of
 handicraft, and was always busily employed. He was
 generous to a fault—ready to give away everything if asked
 for it, and often without the asking. His great weakness
 was an inveterate fondness for gambling, which, together
 with his lavish good-nature, eventually impoverished him
 T greatly. At his request, I informed Casimiro and Orkeke
 622 that he desired to hold a *parlamento*. Accordingly, the
 623 chiefs all proceeded to a place agreed upon between the two
 camps, where they took their seats in a circle on the grass.
 After various harangues from Hinchel and others, it was
 resolved that Casimiro should be elected chief in command
 of the Tehuelches ; and that after the expiration of the young
 guanaco season, all present, together with those expected
 from the neighbourhood of the Chupat, should proceed to a
 place called Teckel, and thence march to Las Manzanas, to
 unite there with the Araucanian Indians, some of whom had
 T already communicated with us, and had promised to forward
 A my letters, *via* Las Manzanas, to Rio Negro.
 648 The relations between the Tehuelches or Tsonecas of Pata-
 gonian and the Araucanian Indians of Las Manzanas had been
 previously by no means of a pacific nature. It has been
 already mentioned that near the Sengel we passed the scene
 of a fierce battle between them. Tankelow bore still the
 scars of seven lance wounds received in a battle when he was

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE TEHUELCHES. 193

in one, which came under my own observation, beyond all²⁷⁸ doubt, death was caused by poisoning the inside of a potro boot, the wearer of which had a slight wound on the leg.

Inquirers into the Tsoneca language are referred to the¹⁹⁷ vocabulary in the Appendix; but it is needful to state most distinctly that it is altogether different from either Pampa or Araucanian. Though able to converse in Tehuelche, I could not at all understand the Pampas; and this is noted with reference to statements made in M. Guinnard's work, which, coupled with other internal evidences already alluded to, compel me to doubt that the author was ever in the hands of the real Patagonians, his captors and masters being Pampas or Araucanos, whose customs are well described by him.

As distinguished from these Indians, the number of the¹⁶¹ pure Tehuelches, both northern and southern, in Patagonia does not exceed 1,500 men, women, and children, according to the returns of effective warriors given at the time when the union of all the various parties, combined during my journey for political purposes, enabled me to compute them with exactness. Beyond the two great divisions into northern and southern, the subdivisions of tribes, so frequently given, are imaginary, or arise out of names of temporary leaders. Nor is the term clan very appropriate to the nomad parties, combined by custom or often by chance. The population is steadily and rapidly decreasing, and the inroads of disease and ill effects of liquor are, as usual, doing the work of extirpation of this race.

As to their organization, it must be distinctly understood⁶²¹ that these Indians owe no manner of allegiance to any head⁶²² cacique, such as Calficura, or any other, though they may agree to obey one chief, as for instance, Casimiro; nor are they, except by intermarriage or voluntary association, politically united with either Pampas or Araucanians. Their natural bias is to independence, and rather insubordinate ideas of 'one man being as good as another.' Castro's dying

- 621 words, 'I die as I have lived—no cacique orders me,' aptly
 622 express the prevalent feeling on this subject. Nevertheless,
 all 'parties,' however small, are, when travelling, under the
 command of a cacique or 'gownok,' who is sometimes also
 designated by the more endearing epithet of 'yank,' or
 father; but his influence is very frequently confined to
 ordering the march and chase. Some of the chiefs are
 hereditary, but it is not invariably the rule; and amongst
 the northern Indians there are many petty chiefs, who are
 men that, having become possessed of a few mares and
 horses, assume the title of cacique. Great etiquette is ob-
 [576] served between them; one chief being prohibited by custom
 from entering the toldo of another unless presents have
 previously been interchanged. Another curious point of
 [606] etiquette is that a man is not allowed to look towards his
 father-in-law when in conversation with him; this is, how-
 ever, not confined to the aristocracy, but also applies to the
 common herd. When two parties of Indians are approaching
 202 one another, and sufficiently near to distinguish the smoke
 576 of the hunting-fires, a signal-fire is lighted, and a chasqui—
 called by the Tehuelches coëto—generally some relative of
 the chiefs, is despatched from either side. On meeting they
 repair to the camp of the most powerful, and, on arriving
 near, more horsemen sally out and escort them to the toldo
 of the chief. On arrival the new comer dismounts, his horses
 and gear are taken charge of, and he is shown, with great
 formality, to a seat, where he patiently remains, sometimes for
 an hour, answering, with grave face, all questions; and then
 delivers any message he may be entrusted with. Although
 he may be wearied, tired, and hungry, he never moves until
 the formalities are concluded; he is then provided with the
 best food and accommodation his host is possessed of.
- [81] It is to be hoped that the narrated actual life in the
 toldos will have enabled the reader to form an idea of
 the character of the Tehuelches more favourable than that
 which—except by the missionaries, Messrs. Hunziker and

drunken brawl since our departure, and that a rumour was current that the Valdivians had had their cattle taken from them, and various other stories, most of which were declared to be lies by Orkeke, who, having lost a horse, had returned to look for it in Geylum; the budget of alarming news thus proving to be a fresh illustration of the Indian's proneness to invent if they have nothing of real importance wherewith to astonish their hearers. Crimé's widow took up her abode in our toldo; [794] and as, by this chief's death, the post of capitanejo, with the rank of lieutenant in the Blanco Ayrean army, and the right of drawing rations, was vacant, Casimiro consulted me as to his successor. But successive proposals of those who seemed most fit, beginning with Wáki, were objected to by the cacique, who at last declared that he should name his almost insane son Graviel as the chief to be placed by the Argentine Government upon the list of the caciques to be conciliated by annual pay! On April 22 a start was made, but we remained to the last, as four of Casimiro's horses which I had brought down to the valley the previous evening were missing, so the chieftain returned to look for them, and the rest of the toldo pursued their journey.

After taking a farewell look at the Cordillera, which was presently shut out from view by the hills, the counterslope of which we descended, a hurried march led us through a very barren rocky country entangled in broken irregular hills, with scarcely a bush to shelter under, and little or no pasture. We encamped, or rather reached the camp after it was pitched, in a cañon containing a small spring and a very little green pasture, and went to bed supperless, as, not being in time for the hunt, and game being very scarce, what we could beg from our neighbours was naturally given to those recovering from sickness.

Jackschan's wife and child were still very unwell, and, as the child was supposed to be dying, the doctor was sent for. He proceeded to cure it by laying it on the ground, muttering a charm and patting it on the head; after which he put

ing incantations; when this was completed, the doctor⁷⁵⁵ disappeared for a minute or two, returning with an ornamented hide bag in his hand; this he opened, and produced from the bottom some charms carefully enveloped in rags, which he, after performing some mystic *hoos-pocus*, returned to the bag. He next took the baby from the mother, and patting it gently on the head, and muttering in a low tone, dipped its head into the bag two or three times, and then returned it to its mother. A white mare was brought up, and, after being dashed all over with hand-marks of red ochre, was knocked on the head, cooked, and eaten on the spot, the heart, liver, and lungs being hung on a lance, to the top of which was suspended the bag containing the charms. Care was taken, as in other ceremonies, that no dogs approached to eat the offal, which was buried, the head and backbone being removed to a neighbouring hill.

On the 9th of May we started, arriving the same evening³³ at Margensho, which was, as the Indians had previously described it to me, a large grassy plain lying below a step or barranca, and watered by a brook running N.E. and S.W. During the hunt over the previously described plains there was nothing remarkable except the extreme scarcity of game, skunks alone being numerous; fortunately I killed a male guanaco, and as I had the previous day corrected my page he brought up the bones most carefully, so that all was in readiness for an early start. Before sundown the chiefs⁴²² were collected, and the contents of the letter¹ read to them; they all appeared pleased, and after adding a postscript setting forth the names and number of the chiefs who required rations I closed the correspondence.

Hinche came and provided me with tobacco, asking as a favour that if any of his friends in the settlement should inquire if he got drunk when occasion offered in the pampas, I would bear witness to his sobriety; he also entreated that I would either return to the Indians or remain in Patagonia until he arrived, which latter I promised to do.

¹ [Letter to be delivered to the Argentine authorities -- And yet.]

- 622 At the risk of repetition, it must be said this man was the best Tebuelche, excepting perhaps Waki, I ever had anything to do with; he was frank, honest, generous, sober, and in every way fit for a chief; a ready and skilled workman in all Indian trades, from breaking a colt to constructing a saddle or silver necklace; his only vice being gambling, but for which last habit he would have been the richest and most powerful chief, as he was universally respected.

[43] Orkaks also sent for me, and put into my hand a packet of tobacco for the journey, which he assured me would be long, tedious, and dangerous. I promised to ask particularly for his return, and if the Government would not grant it, to make him a present myself. He wished me to return, but I pointed out to him that for various reasons it would be better not, so we parted, agreeing to meet in Patagonia.

- 262 It may be as well to mention that if the post of *chaqui*, or herald, as he may be styled, be an honourable one, for which as a rule only the near relatives of chiefs are employed, the duties are sufficiently hard. The *chaqui* is expected to ride like 'young Lochievar,' as fast and as far each day as the horse will carry him; he must not turn aside or halt even for the purpose of hunting, and unless an ostrich or other game cross his path may have to go without supper after his day's fifty or sixty miles' journey, while his bed and bedding are the ground and mantle. Of course endurance, sobriety, and reliable steadiness of purpose are essential qualifications, especially if the distance to be travelled over be great. And Natcho had always approved himself an excellent *chaqui*, and was an unerring guide even across the trackless tundra.

When the *chaqui* falls in with other Indians on the march, or an encampment, he is ceremoniously received and honourably entertained, and it is usually expected that in case of need he will be supplied with fresh horses to prosecute his mission.

The following morning at daylight another consultation

house, as they descended from the traviesa, and hastened back ^{to} to the town to receive them, according to promise. It will be remembered that on my arrival as *chasqui* I presented to Señor Murga my despatches, in which Casimiro detailed his arrangements for the protection of Patagones. A list of the chiefs to whom rations or gifts of cattle, horses, &c., were due, was also enclosed, and a request that a hundred mares should be sent out at once with the returning messengers. After ⁶⁴⁸ some days' delay I was sent for by Señor Murga, who, it may be here remarked, is reputed to thoroughly understand the Indians, and to display considerable address in managing them. It was amusing to observe the natural suspicion and perplexity aroused in the mind of the Commandante concerning my position among the Indians; and my reply to his question as to what rank and influence I possessed among them, and how I was interested for them—that I was simply a guest and friend—did not seem at all sufficient to explain matters. But he discussed the question of the chiefs and their ⁶⁴⁸ requests, and assured me that all the chiefs who should be ⁶²² found to be entitled to rations should duly receive them: he, however, absolutely refused to send out any mares, declaring that Casimiro should receive all his dues when he arrived.

As the grand cacique had for several years not drawn his annual allowance, amounting to 200 cows, 100 mares, 500 sheep, and a quantity of clothes and yerba, it can be well imagined that with fair play and prudence he would, on this visit, become a wealthy as well as powerful cacique, as a reward for his labours. At his previous visit he had left a quantity of cattle and sheep, under charge of some of the Tame Indians, to increase and multiply; but alas! on his arrival, in reply to his inquiries, only one small flock of sheep was forthcoming, the rest, instead of multiplying, having been gambled away by their guardians. The liberality of the ⁶⁴⁸ Argentines and the largeness of the gifts may appear surprising; and indeed the nominal value, as charged to the Government for these annual gifts to the Indians, is very

000 the Chupat, and perhaps to Santa Cruz. Jackechan's son—the boy with light hair and complexion—volunteered to come to England with me, and I consented to take him; but on hearing that there were no ostriches or guanaco where we were going, he thought better of it.

157 Some of Quintuhual's and Foyel's people also arrived, but behaved themselves in a very different manner to the Tehuelches. Their women and children had all been left in Geylum, and the men walked about in a very independent manner, with a proud, superior bearing, not condescending to admire anything, or to ask for any presents. One of them, on the boatman requesting his fare for bringing him across the river, refused flatly, and then drew his revolver to enforce his denial.

622 Last, but not least, as became so great a personage, Casimiro arrived, attended by Meña, who acted as secretary. His costume had suffered considerably from his late pursuits, and his appearance was by no means improved by a gash in his face received from a Manzanero in a brawl at Sance Blanco. He installed himself in the hotel, hired the fifes and drums of the garrison to play whilst he was at breakfast, and for two days kept open house for all comers, ending the day in an advanced state of intoxication.

At the end of this debauch a bill was handed to him which, I should think, took the value of nearly half his rations. This sobered him, and he, taking my advice, left the hotel, and crossing the river proceeded to Sance Blanco to look after his rations and Indians. On the whole, the Indians behaved very well whilst in the settlement. I saw, of course, some drunkenness, but not nearly so much as I had expected. One and all parted from me with most cordial farewells, and pressed me to return to the Pampa, as they call it, as soon as possible. Jackechan was one of the last to leave. He, as well as one or two of the others, had found an old acquaintance in Mr. Humphreys, formerly of the Chupat colony, but now settled in Patagones as carpenter. We all met in Mr.

procured weighing each about a pound, connected by a strap or thong of leather, ten or twelve feet long. When engaged in the chase, his horse at his highest speed, the rider holds one ball in his hand, and whirls the other rapidly above his head; when it has acquired sufficient momentum it is hurled with unerring aim at the object of pursuit, and either strikes the victim dead, or coils inextricably about him and roots him to the spot, a helpless mark for the hunter's knife. 411 224

This tribe numbered about one thousand; the chief is the acknowledged head of the people. Whether his power was hereditary or elective, I could not learn; but incline to the belief that it was hereditary, as it appeared to be, in his theory at least, absolute. In all questions of importance his decision is final; yet his subjects take considerable liberty with his opinions, sometimes oppose his counsels, and even question his authority. On the appearance of such democratic symptoms, he sometimes finds it necessary to assert his sovereignty with spirit, and brandishes his cutlass smartly before their eyes. [761] 622 ●

The habits of the people are not only filthy, but indolent to the last degree; exertion of body or mind is their greatest dread. They never go on a hunting expedition till there is nothing more to eat, nor even then till they feel the spur of extreme hunger. It sometimes happens that at such a crisis a storm comes on, which shuts them in; and it is no unfrequent occurrence for them, under such circumstances, to pass two or three days without tasting food. They learn nothing by experience; the same childish indolence and recklessness, followed by the same painful consequences, are continually recurring. 461 [261]

000 attention The chief came home from the council full of it. He was in royal good humor, and talked about it half the night; but several objections arose, which it was necessary for me to dispose of. These were met, apparently to his full satisfaction. One of the most serious was the fear that the white men would revenge upon him the murder of Captain Eaton. I assured him that so long as I was with him he had nothing to fear on that score; the people were all mine, and would do, or refrain from doing, whatever I should bid them. They would not dare to lift their hands against him contrary to my orders, or refuse to deliver what articles I chose to demand. Nothing, I found, would do, but the assertion of absolute supremacy over all white men whatever, the world around; less than this would not secure the confidence of these savages, and I regulated my speech by the necessities of the case. The chief inquired, half a dozen times over, what I would say to the white men, and I as often rehearsed an address for the occasion. At last his curiosity seemed abated, and we fell asleep.

●622 Early the next morning we were up and stirring, and the chief having adjusted his toilet with care, a slight breakfast was made ready. This over, his highness stood forth, and from the door of his lodge made an official address to the tribe, wherein he set out the advantages of a visit to "Holland," and suggested the most expedient style of making it. He advised that a few only of the tribe should be deputed, with himself, to accompany me, and receive the stores of rum, tobacco, bread, rice, tea, butter, beads, brass, copper, and so forth, that were to be forthcoming, as the expression of my gratitude for the distinguished consideration with which they had treated me.

Though royal speeches seldom excite any jealousy of plagiarism, and it may seem a little captious on my part to make such a charge, it is due to "the truth of history" to declare, that herein the great Parosilver did but repeat a suggestion which he did me the honor to receive with favor over-night. It was not deemed essential to the case to inform his highness of *all* the reasons that led me to wish for as small an escort as the nature of the business would admit. On the contrary, acting upon the profound maxim, that one *sufficient* reason is as good as a dozen, and better than that number of questionable ones, I merely advised, that, after the experience which Captain Eaton and others had had of Patagonian prowess, the sight of too many of his giants would frighten away the whites, and prevent all beneficial communication with them; while the presence of a small deputation would be a pledge of their pacific inclinations. The speech from the throne proved less *moving* than most of the chief's effusions; his lieges listened with great interest, and an earnest debate sprung up, at the conclusion of which it was decided that the chief, with four other Indians and their squaws, should be my body-guard, the rest of the tribe to follow after. Another old woman begged to go with us, which was agreed to. The horse I had been in the habit of riding was lame, and unfit for service; another was procured for me.

Our simple preparations for departure were soon made, and as we were about to start they all began bringing their dirty children to me, and requesting that I would bring brass and beads for them all; which was gravely promised much to their satisfaction. There remained the last act in the comedy for which I had been long rehearsing, — if, in-

DESCRIPTION OF THE SOUTHERN COAST OF THAT REGION
OF THE SOUTH COMMONLY CALLED PATAGONIA

The harbor of Santa Elena is a good one for all types of ships and is situated on the 40° line of southern latitude. Sweet water is to be found only in a glade to the west, filled by the winter rains as they are held by [132] a ridge which lies across the glade's mouth near the beach. Inland, some four or five leagues, the Indians reported the presence of some small [137] springs. All the terrain is rocky except for the small valleys, in which [313] there is good grass and an abundance of espinillo firewood. The Indian chief who rules this section is called Aymo; his jurisdiction stretches up to the harbor of San Gregorio. He said that from the coast westward toward the mountains there are some 70 leagues of habitable land, but the land beyond that limit is absolutely uninhabitable by man or beast. [136] Hares are very abundant here, being like small antelope and very good to eat; quirquinchos, [type of armadillo--Translator] also good eating, [415] have shells which the Indians use as pans or plates; pumas have flesh which is very savory, juicy and tender, and is like the roasted breast of a turkey; there are a few guanacos too, some partridges and many [613] ostriches. The Indians subsist on all of these, as also on horse meat, which they have in great abundance and which is their favorite food. Fish, in which the harbor abounds, is of the kind which we call borriquete and pejeray, both of which are delicious.

[133] The harbor of San Gregorio is situated at 45° 4' latitude south. It is not very secure and its entrance is bad owing to its rock strewn bottom and weak anchorage. The terrain which surrounds it is rocky and rugged; one must go inland some 5 leagues [65] before striking water. The mountain chain is about as far from this harbor as it is from that of [134] Santa Elena, according to the Indians. This land is even more sterile [622] than the former. The Indian chief who controls these lands is called [136] Gorgona. The game and fish are the same as in the previous place but [222] the Indians do not eat the fish since they do not know how to catch them and lack the necessary implements for doing so. In the cove called Camarones there is an abundance of shrimp, as there is also in San Julian and Puerto Deseado, and a kind of fish called galle; but as already mentioned, the Indians do not make use of them. There is here quite a lot [313] of espinillo firewood, and the rock is very solid and hard.

[133] The gulf of San Jose is south of cape Matas, which is at the same latitude as San Gregorio; from the point at which its mouth begins to cape Blanco, there are 50 leagues. The northern shores have been explored by small ships to a point about 40 leagues to the west. There are

133 many havens there, protected by numerous islands and sandbanks. The coast is not as high, but the land is even more barren than that of the other harbors, there being neither water nor grass, although firewood is not altogether lacking, especially inland. The Indians said that the gulf continues toward the west almost up to the mountains, that some springs flow into it there and that it is impossible to cross the mountains to the other side. They added that there is much espinillo brushwood in the region, going from north to south, through which they have cut paths in order to get through, and should they ever deviate from these paths, they become lost. The southern shores of the gulf, they say, are more arid than the northern, but the fauna is the same as in the others. The Indian chiefs who rule this territory are two brothers, called Chaiguas and Enis.

Puerto Deseado is situated at $47^{\circ} 48'$ of southern latitude; it is a good harbor but of difficult entry because of the narrowness of its mouth and the violence of the currents which flow in it. The coast is very high and craggy; there is firewood and in the gullies there are some small springs of sweet but slightly brackish water, some 14 in all, which can take care of any need. Game is the same as it was in the other parts: there are innumerable sea lions and seals and an abundance of guanacos. The chief who controls these lands is called Ulquiquenque; he said that the mountain chain is about 20 "sleeps" from the harbor, which must be about 70 leagues, and also that it is impossible to cross over to the other side, that his people have never crossed nor seen other Indians cross the mountains. In this district there is white, black, red and other colored rock, and a little marble in small broken pieces. [66] The earth also is of various colors and the Indians use it to make their paints. There are also many seals and sea lions on the islands in the haven.

The harbor of San Julian is located at $49^{\circ} 21'$ of southern latitude and is the best on the coast, although the entrance to it is difficult for an unpracticed person because of the bank at its mouth and two others which are inside. The terrain also is the best on the whole coast, not at all rocky and more fertile, as we found out when we were there the three years which the settlement lasted from 1781 to 1784 [sic]. The closest source of water is about a league from the beach, and is made up of some wells filled by the overflow from a spring which lies about a league and a half away. There is ample firewood in all the dells, all of which also abound in grass and water, the terrain being made up almost entirely of such gullies, and of stoneless hills. The mountain chain is 70 leagues away toward the west, and at its base there are three cove-like depressions in each of which there is a lake fed by the snow which melts on the mountain tops. I explored this region at the foot of the mountains

133 Entirely and could find no pass, it being impossible even for the animals to cross over to the other side, all passages being closed off by snow
 [484] most of which has frozen solid and is, as it were, petrified. This finding made plausible the assertion which the Indians make to the effect that they have never crossed the mountains here or in any of the other places already named. From the first of the three lakes mentioned there flows a small river which runs into the haven of Santa Cruz; from the second, located to the south of the first, springs the stream which the Indians call Chalia, which flows into the Rio Grande de Santa Cruz; the last and southernmost of the three lakes gives birth to the Rio Grande de Santa Cruz, which flows into the haven of the same name, situated at
 622 50° 12' of southern latitude. The chief who lives in this district, which comprises the land between Puerto Deseado and the Rio de Santa Cruz [sic], is called Camelo, and we called him Julian. He is one of the chiefs with the largest following in his nation; his lieutenant is a son-in-law of his called Onos, and he lives in the vicinity of the Santa Cruz lakes.

133 Fifteen leagues from the Santa Cruz river there is another stream, fed by the mountain snows, which runs in that area and turns toward the Straits of Magellan. This stream flows into the cove named Gallegos and is not navigable, reports of other ancient travelers to the contrary. At 52° of southern latitude is the Cabo de las Virgenes, and the Straits of Magellan start there. The mountains come down so close to the very Straits, at its mid point, that even here it is impossible to reach [67] the other side by land. There are here a number of small snow-fed streams,
 [512] an abundance of firewood and good grasslands which support the infinite
 [315] number of guanacos that live in the region. The Indian chief who governs
 [136] these lands is called Coopan. He is one of those having the largest following, but all his people travel on foot, the tents and small belongings
 [622] being transported by dogs. Only the chief and his women have horses,
 [492] which are supplied to them by their neighbor Camelo, chief of San Julian.
 [484] This state of affairs has existed for some years, in fact since Camelo invaded this territory and took away all the horses. Since the invasion it has been his policy to supply chief Coopan and his wives with horses, but no one else, and in this way he is able to keep his southern neighbors
 224 under his control. Horseless, they hunt guanacos on foot, and as there
 136 are many of these animals they are able to live pretty well in this territory. In Puerto Deseado and in San Julian a good many of these animals also live, yet not as many, and there the Indians can hunt them with greater ease since they have horses; but then again, the Indians here in the more
 136 southern part who lack horses are themselves more agile and robust. In

4/62 woman be sick, for she must somehow find the strength to do all this.

[342
281] In addition to these things she must sew the tent together, it being made always of the skins of full grown guanacos, and all the other skins which go to make bedding and clothing, these usually being made of hare, skunk or newly born or unborn guanacos. These small guanacos are collected and skinned in the springtime, and those in excess of the local need are bartered with the Indians of Rio Negro for horses, clothing, beaded halters and knives, which the latter acquire by trading or on their

4/38 periodic invasions of the Buenos Aires frontier. The fact is that the Indians whom we are here describing have never had dealings with Spaniards until the present date, nor have they seen any Spanish towns, nor do these regions contain iron, metal, brass, tools or arms - all these things must be acquired by the above mentioned trading. The women, in order to

[281
283] sew the skins together use awls which they make from the iron the Rio Negro Indians give them, and instead of thread they use nerves which they collect, as needed, from the legs of ostriches.

● 622 The chieftainship is hereditary and his authority absolute in regard to shifting the camp site in search of the game upon which they live. 484 When the chief thinks that it is time to move he shouts out a speech in a loud voice from his tent the evening before the move is to be made. All 203 the others listen to him with great attention, each from his own tent. He tells them that a move must be made on the following day, he assigns a time for rounding up [71] the horses, for striking the tents and for starting out; no one answers him, and at the assigned hour all are ready

4/84 as he has ordered. The women travel along paths which lead to the watering places where they are to stay; they are responsible for all the baggage. The men, after the women have got under way, spread out 224 and take their places in the surrounding region in order to enclose the guanacos and entangle them with the bolas as they attempt to break away. The guanacos cannot be chased, for they dash away headlong at such speed that no horse or dog can catch them. Once brought down by the bolas the dogs assist the Indians to finish them off. The chief himself assigns the position each Indian must take for the guanaco bear, for which

[622] in testimony of his overlordship, he is given part of the catch. The chief never takes active part in the hunt and does nothing other than go from stand to stand. The longest day's journeys are of four leagues. On arriving at the assigned camping place the women put up the tents, collect

484 firewood and have everything ready for the coming of the men. The [313
462] latter, when the sun sets, go to their tents, and never have I seen any of them arrive at their tents after nightfall. If the march is to be continued on the following day the chief harangues his people in the same manner

484 as before, but if he says nothing, then all know that for the while they are to remain in that place. Their camp site is usually in the area to which they know that the game has moved. When the chief sees that meat is running low he gives orders at sundown, in the same manner as when ordering a move to a new camp site, that the horses are to be brought in at some specified time on the following day. Once this has been done he harangues them once more, this time on horseback, and assigns the hunting stations and all else which each group of hunters is to do. Some women go with them to load the game, the men being [462] unwilling to do even this chore. The tents are left standing and in them the remaining women, children, and disabled Indians wait. At sundown [52] they return to their tents once more. The chief's authority is limited ● 622 to these few activities only, and he never for any crime punishes his people, although in the aforementioned matters in which obedience is required it is never found that they do not fulfill his orders faithfully. When 721 he wants to wage war on his neighbors, or on some other group which may 623 have insulted their honor, this can only be carried into effect with the approval of his chief subordinates, to which effect they meet together in the chief's tent. The latter mulls over and explains the wrongs which have been done, the way in which they can be avenged, forces, ease and difficulties entailed in the waging of the war. The members of the council confer about the matter and either approve or reject the proposal of the chief, who does not take offense if he is overruled. Usually the chief's bid for war is approved and the council merely discusses ways and means of waging it, and the time of its commencing. This discussion 721 often lasts some days. Once they are agreed on the matter of beginning 203 hostilities the chief, on three successive nights, shouts the news in a loud voice from his tent so as to inform his people of the declaration of war, the time which has been set for its [72] commencement, the manner in which it is to be conducted, who are the enemies, the cause of the war, and they are warned to be wary and prepared.

721 One of the principle causes for the declaration of war is the fol-
 423 lowing: Each chief's territory has fixed boundaries, and no Indian may cross into the territory of a neighbor without obtaining permission from 484 the latter to do so. The Indian who wishes to obtain such permission must make three smoke signals, and until he is answered by three other [202] smoke signals he may not approach the encampment. Once he has been answered he must give an account of himself to the chief in whose territory he is, telling his reasons for coming, be it only because he is passing through or because he wishes to take up residence there. If the chief so

desires he gives his permission, and if not, he orders him to leave his territory and dominions immediately. If the Indian is going as ambassador for his own chief or for some other group of Indians, either to ask permission to pass through the territory or to trade or to pay a call, he is told by the chief the time, the place of entry, the road to be followed in order to continue on their way or the land they are to occupy in order to do their trading. After all of this, the three smoke signals must be made again and once these are answered by the Indians whose territory they wish to enter, they all come; at about one league from the encampment the men come to a halt, the women go forward with the children, put up their tents in the spot which has been assigned to them and, all being in readiness, the men go forward and join the women. No one comes out to receive the newcomers, each group being in sight of the others for quite a long period until the chief or some other of the visitors goes to pay his respects to the host chief, who receives him in his tent in company of his principal lieutenants all of whom gather to welcome the stranger. This call often lasts a whole day since, as each speaks without being interrupted by anyone else, if the visitor brings much news and wishes also to learn all about the things of note in the territory, the speech of each individual present is liable to last two or three hours and even more as they also repeat certain words and phrases many times over. He who is listening, together with all who surround him, pays strict attention to what is said, saying with some frequency "x," "x," which means yes, yes, and with no other word do they interrupt the speaker. At these meetings alliances are made, general feelings of friendliness are exchanged and other contracts, pacts and agreements are concluded, in all of which the chiefs have absolute authority. When the formalities here described are not observed prior to entering the territory or camp of some other group, then the action is considered a sign of bad faith and a general alarm is sounded.

They also declare war on each other often for horse stealing, and as a result the vanquished are deprived of their horses, the young women and children are made captives and the old women together with the able-bodied men are given no quarter, unless they save themselves by escaping from their pursuers. [73]

The chief is under the obligation of protecting and aiding the Indians in his territory when they are in need, and so that chief is most popular and esteemed by his people who best is able to succor them, is most openhanded, and intelligent in the hunt. He who is lacking in these qualities is deserted by his followers in favor of one who possesses them, and is thus left only with his relatives and open to continual

622 invasion by his neighbors. As a matter of fact the unfortunate chief's
 623 family does not lose its right to its land, and with the passage of time it
 often happens that some descendant will re-establish the colony which his
 father, grandfather or brother destroyed either by bad luck or bad conduct.
 When a chief becomes old and unable to fulfill the obligations of his posi-
 tion he hands over his authority to a successor.

583 Marriages are made by a man's buying his wife from her father
 584 or from some other under whose guardianship she may be, and in propor-
 tion to her rank, good looks, conduct, etc. she is either more or less ex-
 pensive. Her will is not taken into account for this transaction by her
 585 father or guardian, and she cannot set herself against her own sale. Each
 586 man may have one, two, or more wives of his own, depending on his
 587 wealth, but only rarely does a man have more than one unless he be a
 chief or an Indian of great power. Three is the greatest number of wives
 which any man gets to possess, and each husband has the right of selling
 his wives to another, but this resale makes the woman of little worth, and
 for that reason she is sold very cheaply; poor men only buy women in this
 way since they lack the funds to buy them first-hand. It is not considered
 improper to sell a woman to a relative, unless it be to the woman's son or
 brother, all other relatives being eligible as buyers. Many are the mar-
 riages of this type which are consummated because of the expense involved
 936 in procuring an unmarried woman. Single women, while they are yet
 young and have hopes of being married keep their virginity, but should
 937 these hopes vanish, they will have sex relations promiscuously. Those
 married women who find that the husband who bought them from their
 father or guardian is to their liking, are faithful, but should they not like
 their husbands they become troublesome -- yet adultery is not considered
 624 a crime unless committed in the husband's presence, and in such a case
 the adulterer and not the woman is blamed, and even then no punishment
 625 is meted out, the husband being easily mollified. The chief always has as
 626 a wife the daughter or sister of some other chief, and she is the head wife
 amongst his others, who must serve her in every way. Even if the chief
 627 should tire of his principal wife he may not sell her because it would be
 628 considered an insult and cause for an outbreak of war with her relatives.
 629 All these head wives are grave in demeanor, given to few words, live
 secluded in their tents, spend their time in pursuits suitable [74] to their
 position, and do not take part in the vain conversations of the other Indian
 593 women. The men never manhandle the women for any reason, except when
 594 drunk, and even in such a condition the chief will never strike his head wife
 595 although all the others may well receive their share of blows.